Volunteer Engagement in Housing Co-Operatives – Civil Society "en miniature"

Abstract

Housing co-operatives host miniature versions of civil society. They vitalise a social system that is shaped by formal regulations, economic functions, and a population of private housing units. The study examines factors that influence a person's willingness to volunteer in civic society using a multilevel analysis based on survey data from 32 co-operatives and 1263 members. To do so, the social exchange theory is extended to include the member value approach, which connects social engagement with the fulfillment of a range of needs, thus going beyond a narrow economic cost-benefit analysis. Study results show that volunteer engagement largely depends on the degree to which members can expect to experience their own achievement. This finding provides an explanation for significant differences in the engagement levels beyond factors that have already been determined (age, level of education). On an organizational level, the study reveals that the age of an organization influences volunteer engagement, but that the size and the degree of professionalization do not have an effect on it.

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Housing Co-operatives: Miniature Versions of Society

Housing co-operatives are organized systems that are shaped by hierarchy and formal regulation, by a predefined number of private housing units with a certain freedom of action, and by economic interests of the members with regard to the organizational goals. In addition the members form – in a more or less elaborated way – a community that fills the public sphere between formal regulation, economic functions and private sphere. This community within the organizational borders may be conceptualized as a civil society "en miniature". The term civil society is widely used and there is no commonly accepted definition (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006). Contemporary concepts of civil society may be categorized into three mutually supportive divisions – schools of thought: associational life, public sphere, and good society (Edwards, 2011). Despite the heterogeneity, there are three principles that can be found in all concepts of civil society: participatory engagement, constitutional authority, and moral responsibility (Peterson & Van Til, 2004). These three principles focus on the role of the members – the citizens – at the center of every civil society. Civil society needs active members who support and promote the society as a whole within the context of its own rules and shared values and social cohesion (social capital). Nevertheless, throughout civil society, complaints can be heard about the decreasing motivation to assume responsibility and actively participate in society, accompanied by a fading sense of community and solidarity. Accordingly, there have been increasing calls for more active and meaningful citizen participation (Kim, 2017).

According to O'Connell (2000), civil society exists at the intersection between the various elements of society: community, government and business. The same applies to housing co-operatives: The family and neighborhood networks are the nucleus of social life, the one-man-one-vote principle and (voluntary) self-governed management represent the government and,

last but not least, the housing co-ops offer apartments in free market conditions that compete with for-profit businesses. Like in society, all inhabitants of housing co-operatives are naturally members with the according rights and duties. Unlike other associations or clubs, members of housing co-ops have inevitably regular and close contact with other members in the neighborhood, whether or not they wish to. The starting point of the membership is thus not only a common interest or shared values but a place to live. In contrast to most other types of associations the membership in a housing co-op is rooted in the fulfillment of basic needs that are not substitutable without severe consequences for individual and family well-being.

Furthermore, housing co-operatives share with the civil society a pluralistic and politically conflictual characteristic. The democratic co-operatives principles make it necessary to find a consensus and this consensus often cannot be achieved without a fight for the best arguments. Many co-operatives pursue the goal of a social mix in their settlements. Elderly people should live next to young people and native families next to foreigners. This kind of mix raises the potential for conflictual opinions on how they should live together. Under this perspective, housing co-operatives are also regarded as unique sites to learn democracy (Mündel, Duguid, & Schugurensky, 2004).

The housing co-operative sector represents the heterogeneity of society, from small family-oriented co-operatives without formal management, to fully professionalized co-ops with hundreds of apartments. Furthermore, some housing co-ops grew out of squatter movements, while others were founded by construction companies without any sociopolitical intentions. The co-operative housing sector thus reflects the entire range of professionalization, political orientation and cultures that can be found in society at large.

Mobilizing Members in Co-operatives

Co-operatives are service and liability communities based on the principle of solidarity, whose members play an important role as resource providers – they pay membership fees and volunteer their time – and management thanks to the co-operative principle of democratic member management (Zimmer, 2014). While the resources paid in the form of membership fees are a minor issue, the decline in volunteer engagement and active participation pose serious problems for co-operatives. In addition to this resource approach, volunteering has a positive influence on the housing co-operative and the civil society in general by vitalizing democracy, empowering individuals, creating a dynamic society, etc. In that sense, volunteering is one of the fundamental measures of social capital and is sometimes even used as a proxy for social capital (Roskurge, Poot, & King, 2016; Siegler, 2014). Arguments for enhanced volunteering and participation often rest on the merits of the (democratic) decision making process and the belief that an engaged community is better than a passive community (Arnstein, 1969; King, M., & O'Neill Susel, 1998). Furthermore, the term social capital suggests, like other forms of capital that it leads to greater productivity. Social capital has garnered considerable attention as a strategic element for building viable and sustainable communities, particularly in light of Putnam's (2000) findings. In this line of argument, the sociological modernization theory is fruitful for the analysis of new types of volunteer participation that are characterized by individualization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). In particular, individualization is assumed to restructure the motivations and patterns of volunteering (Anheier & Salamon, 1999; Hacket & Mutz, 2002)

Today, volunteering seems to be less linked to moral duty or sense of obligation to the community and the volunteer efforts appear to occur more sporadic and temporary limited

(Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). The willingness to volunteer is tied more to specific needs, self-interest, and greater individual choice (Anheier & Salamon, 1999). "Motivated by a search for self-realization, volunteers demand great freedom of choice and clearly limited assignments with tangible outcomes" (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 168).

With this in mind, this study analyzes the determinants for volunteer engagement and records both individual and organizational factors. Furthermore, the study is also concerned with the perceived value – according to the social exchange theory – of the advantages inherent in the way a member-based organization is managed and how this influences voluntary engagement (Homans, 1958, 1974). This study not only provides empirical findings on explanatory factors for volunteer engagement, it is also a critical analysis and an extension of the social exchange theory.

The research field for this study is the co-operative housing sector in Switzerland. The issue of volunteer engagement has been addressed by various research disciplines, but as yet the vast majority of the research lacks a multidimensional perspective that examines both individual members and the organizations themselves. Although this study focuses on housing co-operatives, many of the results can also be applied to other civil society organizations and civil society as a whole, since many of the general problems pertaining to volunteer engagement also apply to these fields.

Factors That Explain Variance in Volunteer Engagement

Looking at Cnaan et al. (1996) four dimensions of volunteer engagement, all kind of different forms can be found in housing co-operatives. Therefore, the degree of volunteer engagement is best covered by the time somebody is engaging for the co-operative. Within this context, the

distinction between two types of volunteer tasks is introduced: honorary offices and volunteer work. The term honorary office is used here for elected roles within bodies or committees. All other forms of unpaid engagement in operative roles or assistance for organizing events or assemblies will be referred to as volunteering in the narrower sense of the word (Anheier & Seibel, 1997). Although this distinction is not very common in international empirical research so far (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013; Stukas, Hoye, Nicholson, Brown, & Aisbett, 2016), we consider it as important for an analysis of volunteer engagement. This is especially the case in the Swiss context, where the differentiation is widespread among practitioners in the Third Sector (Bumbacher, Gmür, & Lichtsteiner, 2018). As honorary offices result from elections among members, they may differ from volunteer work in the way which persons apply for the task, by which motives and attitudes they are driven, and which status they have within the organizational community. With regard to the civil society analogy the differentiation can be compared with those between elected politicians and active citizens. Both are important for a viable civil society, but both play a different role inside the political system and have partially distinct motives for their engagement (Constantini & King, 1994; Pedersen, 2014).

Numerous studies have already examined various factors that influence volunteer engagement (Birchall & Simmons, 2004; Ernita & Al Rozi, 2014; Hibbert, Piacentini, & Al Dajani, 2003). Additionally, research on volunteering in civil society and in associations provide a wealth of additional studies (Dury et al., 2015; Geiser, Okun, & Grano, 2014; Inglis & Cleave, 2006; Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982; Ziemek, 2006). These research findings can be applied to co-operatives in many respects, since associations and co-operatives are both member-based organizations that are confronted with the problem of a declining willingness to participate in society. In contrast to associations, co-operatives focus on promoting the economic interests of their members.

Therefore, findings on the effects of remuneration on volunteer engagement must be applied with caution. The following sections will examine the central research findings on co-operatives, civil society and associations. Overall, it is evident that research on individual motives for volunteer engagement has made considerable progress, whereas the context and the organizations in which volunteer engagement takes place have not yet been extensively researched (Wilson, 2000). In addition, few studies have linked individual and organizational aspects with one another (Caldwell, Farmer, & Fedor, 2008; Hustinx, Van Rossem, Handy, & Cnaan, 2015; Lee & Moore McBride, 2012; Schlesinger & Nagel, 2013). The relationship between these levels is, however, very important because the factors that influence engagement can greatly fluctuate from organization to organization (Wilson, 2000).

Organizational factors that influence volunteer engagement

Two fundamental dimensions can be determined that influence volunteer engagement within an organization: nature and nurture (Hager & Brudney, 2011). The nature dimension refers to factors that cannot be influenced by an organization or its management, e.g. the age or size of the organization. The nurture dimension represents the other side of the coin: factors that can be consciously controlled, such as approachable volunteer management or an appealing organization of the tasks.

With regards to the nature factors, size, in particular, is closely related to the degree of bureaucratization and formalization of an organization (Lynch & Smith, 2012; Mintzberg, 1979). Several studies have examined the importance of bureaucratization and the related concept of flexibility for volunteer engagement (Barnes & Sharpe, 2009; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2004; Maran & Soro, 2010; Musick & Wilson, 2008). These studies provide evidence that a lower

degree of formalization lead to more satisfied volunteers (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013). The self-determination theory could be one explanation for this finding: in highly bureaucratized co-operatives, volunteers have fewer opportunities to select tasks that interest them. The result is that volunteers feel like they are acting more on the orders of others than on their own free will (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). With regards to the age of the co-operative, the foundation phase, in particular, is characterized by a great deal of enthusiasm among the members and their engagement is consequently very high. This founding spirit fades as the co-operative gets older. This is partially due to new member compositions as old members move out and new members move in. It is clear that the negative impact of the size and age of a housing co-operative on volunteer engagement are not linear, but instead gradually level off. The motivation for volunteer engagement decreases more rapidly during the early years following the foundation than in later more established phases of older housing co-operatives. Two hypotheses can be inferred from these considerations:

1a) *The older a housing co-operative is, the lower the level of volunteer engagement. This effect has less of an impact with increasing age.*

1b) *The larger a housing co-operative is, the lower the level of volunteer engagement. This effect has less of an impact with increasing size.*

A great deal of research has been conducted on the area of nurture. This research has examined the recruitment and management – or, more generally, the human resource management – of volunteers. The focus here is on the attitude toward volunteers and the values of the organizations (Gaston & Alexander, 2001; Studer, 2016; Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013). A series of comparative national studies with a focus on differences in civil society engagement have also been conducted (Handy et al., 2010; Hustinx et al., 2010; Hustinx et al., 2015; Ruiter & de Graf,

2006). These studies concluded that organizations involve their members to different degrees (Brudney & Meijs, 2014).

The differences in bureaucratization, management styles and organizational culture can be partially explained by the organization's degree of professionalization (or self-management, as applicable). Here, the importance of volunteers for the management of the co-operative is paramount. The degree of professionalization can have both a positive and a negative impact on volunteer engagement. On the one side, a high degree of professionalization can promote improved volunteer management, e.g. volunteer marketing, recruitment or a higher degree of organization. On the other side, there is less need for volunteers if an organization has salaried staff (Haski-Leventhal & Meijs, 2011). In addition, collaboration and the assignment of tasks can lead to problems between salaried staff and volunteers, which could result in a decline in the willingness to volunteer (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013). Bearing this in mind and based on the expert interviews from the exploratory section of the study, the following hypotheses can be made:

1c) *The higher the degree of professionalization in a housing co-operative, the lower the level of volunteer engagement.*

Another aspect of organizational culture is the political orientation of the co-operative. Many housing co-operatives were born from a left-wing ideal of co-operative living. On the other side, traditional, middle-class motives, along the lines of "It may be small but it's mine," existed from the very beginning of the co-operative housing movement (Kurz, 2000). A series of comparative national studies examining the influence of a country's political orientation on civil society and its volunteer motivation found a positive correlation between a left-wing political ideology and an altruistic motivation for volunteer engagement (Hustinx et al., 2010;

Hustinx et al., 2015). In addition, Bekkers (2005) found that a left-wing political orientation leads to increased engagement, whereas a right-wing orientation had no significant influence. Boeckmann und Tyler (2002), by contrast, could not determine a direct correlation between political orientation and civil engagement. However, a liberal-conservative attitude results in a deeper faith in society, which, in turn, has a negative impact on civil engagement. The following hypothesis can be inferred from these findings:

1d) *Above-average levels of volunteer engagement can be found among members of alternative, left-wing housing co-operatives.*

Individual factors that influence volunteer engagement

Parallel to the organizational factors that influence volunteer engagement, which include nature and nurture, it is also important to take a similar differentiation into consideration for individual determinants. Thus sociodemographic and situational variables must be distinguished from the individual motives and values of a member, although interactions between both types of variables can be assumed (Omoto, Snyder, & Martino, 2000). For one, age is a central factor among the demographic variables. With age, social roles change, the importance of individual fields of life shifts, new possibilities open up, and new restrictions force people to rethink their lives and values (van Ingen & Wilson, 2017; Wilson, 2000). Many studies have found the highest level of volunteer engagement in middle age (Tschirhart, 1998; Wymer, 1998). Retirement does not have an influence on people who had been passive until then, but it does lead to more engagement among those who were already actively engaged (Caro & Bass, 1997; Erlinghagen & Hank, 2006; Gallagher, 1994; Herzog, Kahn, Morgan, Jackson, & Antonucci, 1989; Mutchler, Burr, & Caro, 2003). Not until old age does volunteer engagement

decline, especially when a person is no longer in good health (Choi, 2003; Erlinghagen & Hank, 2006; Kincade et al., 1996; Wilson & Musick, 1997). These results indicate a curvilinear relationship between age and volunteer engagement (Schlesinger, Egli, & Nagel, 2013), which leads to the following hypothesis:

2a) *The older a member, the higher his or her level of volunteer engagement. This effect becomes weaker with increasing age and reverses in old age.*

To test this curvilinear relationship, the age variable must be integrated, once unaltered and once squared, into a multilevel model.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the literature, Wilson stipulates that educational background is the most consistent variable for explaining volunteer engagement (Wilson, 2000). This finding has been supported by a number of more recent studies (Gazley, 2012; Hager, 2014; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2004). Education serves as a form of human capital and therefore members with a higher level of education are more likely to be asked to volunteer (Brady, Schlozman, & Verba, 1999; Dury et al., 2015). However, the influence of educational background differs depending on the type of volunteering (Omoto & Snyder, 1993). In housing co-operatives, volunteer work can take on very different forms, e.g. renovations, maintenance, or board and committee work. Therefore, one can assume a weak positive correlation between formal educational background and volunteering.

2b) *The higher a member's level of formal education, the higher his or her level of volunteer engagement.*

In addition to the two sociodemographic variables age and formal educational background, studies also showed the importance of personal identification and commitment (Studer & von

Schnurbein, 2013). Finkelstein et al. (2005) established a significant positive correlation between identity and the time dedicated to volunteer engagement. Within this context, Birchall und Simmons (2004) speak of a sense of community and shared values and objectives that are pivotal for a person's willingness to contribute to a co-operative. Accordingly, many studies on practical implications conclude that active socialization, group interactions and internal communications with members are important factors (Cunningham & Eys, 2007; Haski-Leventhal & Cnaan, 2009). The following hypothesis can be inferred from these findings:

2c) *The stronger a member identifies with the co-operative, the higher his or her level of volunteer engagement.*

Similarly, Schlesinger und Nagel (2013) found a significant positive correlation between the length of membership and a member's willingness to contribute. Although Cuskelly et al. (1998) did not find a strong correlation between the length of membership and a member's commitment, other research has indicated a positive correlation (Locke, Ellis, & Smith, 2003). The motivation that arises from a sense of moral duty and a desire to give back to the community, which has been heavily discussed in volunteer research, is also connected with these factors (Broadbridge & Home, 1996; Einolf, 2011; Freeman, 1997; Schwartz, 1977; Wilson & Musick, 1997). People who have been members of an association or co-operative for a longer period of time are more willing to volunteer for the organization. In addition to the personal sense of moral duty, there is also a social pressure coming from expectations or demands from other members. In particular, in small housing co-operatives, where everybody knows everybody and members (neighbors) live close together, such a social pressure have to be taken into account (Festinger, Back, & Schachter, 1950; Haski-Leventhal & Cnaan, 2009; Masclet, Noussair, Tucker, & Viellval, 2003). Analogous to the size and age of a housing co-operative,

the length of time a person has lived in the same housing co-operative and his or her level of volunteer engagement are not characterized by a linear relationship. After a certain time period, each additional year that a member lives in a co-operative will only slightly influence his or her willingness to volunteer. This leads to the following hypothesis:

2d) *The longer a member lives in the co-operative, the higher his or her level of volunteer engagement. This effect becomes weaker the longer a person lives in the co-operative.*

Member value as a factor that influences volunteer engagement

Whether members volunteer is not only a question of demographic factors. Instead, individuals develop attitudes toward the organization and calculate the net costs, which can be described as perceived member value. Thus the motivation for volunteer engagement is based on needs that can "only" be satisfied by this engagement (Clary & Snyder, 1999; Hustinx et al., 2015). This theory is based on studies that examine how affective commitment or a solidarity principle influence volunteer engagement (Cuskelly et al., 1998; Schlesinger et al., 2013; Snyder, Omoto, & Crain, 1999) and studies based on a functional approach (Clary et al., 1998). This aspect can be understood as a facet of the social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1958, 1974; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). This theory is based on the rational choice theory that people are only willing to volunteer if they believe they will also benefit from doing so – value proposition (Cnaan & Goldber-Glen, 1991; Houle, Sagarin, & Kaplan, 2005; Unger, 1991; Wilson, 2000). "People volunteer to satisfy important social and psychological goals. Different individuals may be involved in the same activities but have different goals" (Bussell & Forbes, 2002, p. 249). The benefits need not be financial. Instead, they can be anything that meets an individual need (reward) and may therefore include emotional rewards (Cook & Rice, 2006).

The social exchange theory states that every reward is compared with the costs, which must, at the very least, balance one another out in order for a relationship to last. In other words, the social exchange theory is an economic analysis of non-economic, social situation (Emerson, 1976). As already discussed in the definition of volunteering, the costs can be calculated based on the time required to volunteer for the co-operative. Nevertheless, the social exchange theory partially fails to recognize the distinctive social character of exchanges, that are not fully reducible to their particular economic or psychological dimensions (Zafirovski, 2005). Furthermore, people do not care about their rewards alone or, more in general, about the consequences of actions; they also have intrinsic reasons to act (Freiy & Jegen, 2001). Intrinsic motivation stems from no apparent reward of an activity except the activity itself (Deci, 1971). In the case of volunteerism, a clear distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation is hardly possible.

Therefore, the concept of social capital helps to shed some light upon this issue. Volunteerism and social capital are mutually related and have strong links with their integral emphasis on mutual co-operation, reciprocity, trust and networking. On the one hand social capital promotes volunteerism and on the other hand, volunteerism itself fosters and enhances social capital (Degli Antonio, 2009). Past research on volunteering identified motivations in terms of altruism and "do-gooding"; hence revealed a complex set of motivations, including personal and social benefits of participation (Boneham & Sixsmith, 2003). In order to take the social and intrinsic aspects of volunteering into account, the member value approach by Suter and Gmür (2013) is used, which focuses on the members (inter-) personal needs that are satisfied by volunteering. The approach is based on an extended needs theory and consists of cognitive, emotional and psychomotor aspects. The member value approach goes beyond the social exchange

theory to focus on latent rewards, e.g. benefit dimensions that are only subconsciously perceived (Suter & Gmür, 2014). Furthermore, the member value approach focuses on the extent to which the organization meets the needs of its members. It is not relevant whether the co-operative provides financial compensation for volunteer engagement if this kind of compensation is not important for the members. Real benefits can therefore only exist if the co-operative is capable of fulfilling important wishes. The member value approach is a comprehensive framework and covers a wide range of different needs. However, the research literature has suggested numerous different personal motives and needs for volunteer engagement, e.g. appreciation, making new acquaintances, promoting one's own concerns, the chance to make a difference, professional motives etc. that were taken into consideration (Clary, Snyder, & Stukas, 1996; Dolnicar & Randle, 2007; Hager, 2014; Leighley, 1996; Maki & Snyder, 2017). Therefore, the present study focusses on two key member values: achievement and affection (Appendix 1). Achievement covers the members' opportunities to participate and actively influence decisions inside to co-operative, the ability to do something by yourself and gaining valuable experience that take one further. In turn, affection is focusing on bonding social capital aspects like making friends with other inhabitants, understanding neighbors and having a good cohesion in the co-op.

Based on the social exchange and social capital theory, the following hypotheses can be inferred:

3) *The higher the member's member value (achievement and affection), the higher his or her level of volunteer engagement.*

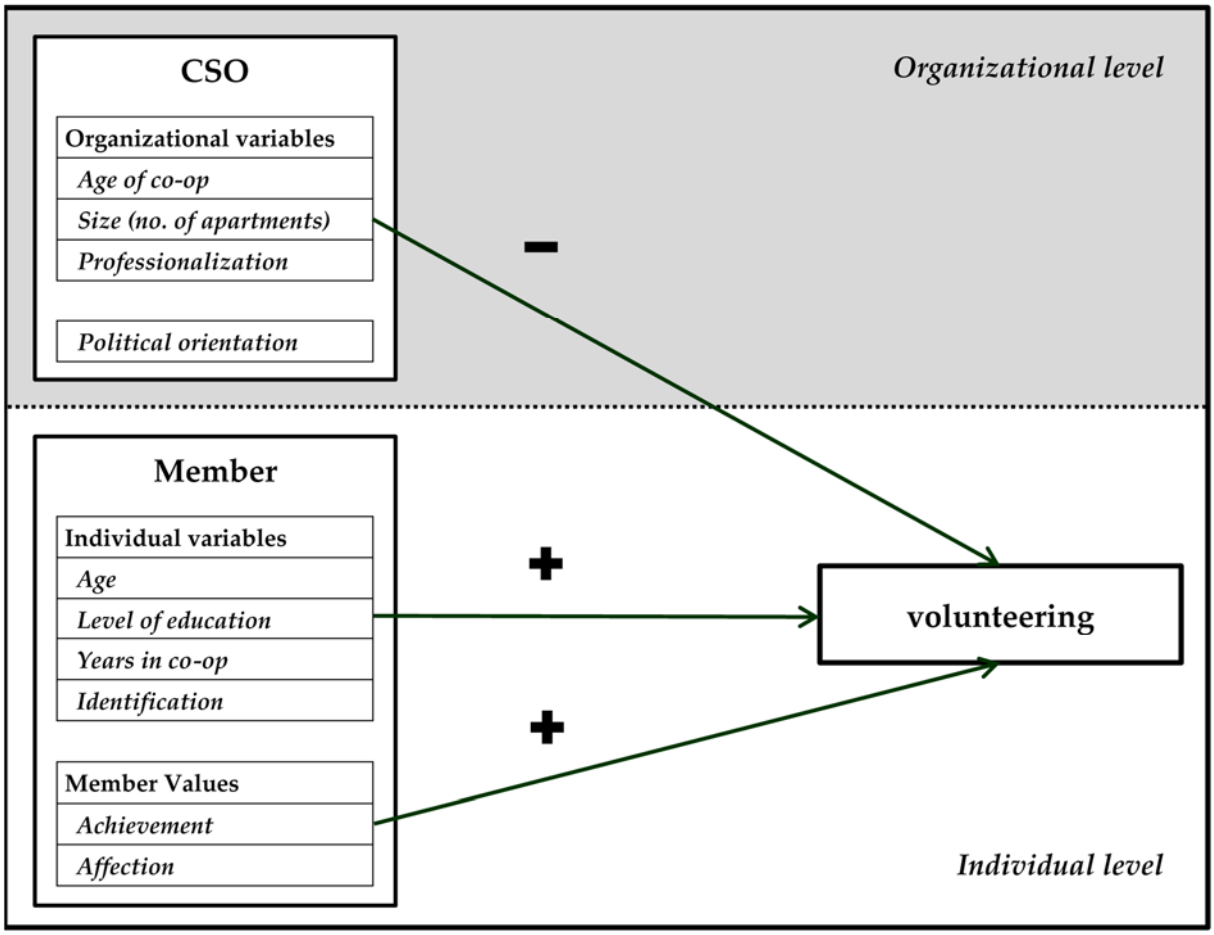

Figure 1 Research model

The theoretical basis and empirical findings were combined in a research model that formed the basis for this study (Figure 1).

Data and Methods

The present study is part of a research project carried out in cooperation with the Swiss umbrella association for charitable housing, "Wohnbaugenossenschaften Schweiz" (WBG). WBG has over 1,000 member organizations and a total of approximately 140,000 apartments across German- and French-speaking Switzerland.

Collection of data

The study was carried out in two stages (Figure 2). During the first stage, eight interviews were held with experts in co-operative housing. The interviews, which were based on specific guidelines, were an average of one and a half to three hours in length. Based on the analysis of these interviews and the empirical findings from research on volunteering, two quantitative questionnaires were developed: one was sent to the management of housing co-operatives for collecting data on the organization and one was sent to members for collecting individual variables. Prior to the main survey, both questionnaires underwent a pre-test (5 housing co-operatives and 157 members) to determine whether the questions were understandable and the items specific enough.

For the subsequent main survey, the association asked all of the Swiss German housing co-operatives to participate.[1] Because the nature of the research question made it necessary to link management and member data, the management survey was not conducted anonymously. As a result, a great deal of the management data had to be omitted due to missing values. From the 850 housing co-operatives, a total of 120 classifiable management surveys were submitted. In order to achieve individual data, the housing co-operatives were asked to send their members a link to an online survey. Therefore, the efforts of the different housing co-operatives may have varied widely. Nevertheless, on the individual level, approx. 20 % of the members surveyed answered the questionnaire. This is an average response rate considering the fact

[1]The WBG-member base consists not only of co-operatives but also several nonprofit public limited companies, foundations etc., 902 members in total. The legal form of the members is not registered with the association. It is therefore not possible to calculate the exact number of housing co-operatives. However, the names of the organisations that often include e.g. “foundation for xxx” or “housing co-operative xxx” made it possible to differentiate in most cases that led to 850 housing co-operatives.

that there was no direct communication between the researcher and the respondents and online surveys tend to elicit lower response rates than paper surveys (Baruch & Holtom, 2008; Shih & Fan, 2008). As there are no data available about the individual members of the housing co-operative it is difficult asses the representativity. Compared to the Swiss average the sample shows similar age distribution but higher educational levels. However, this is in line to a general overrepresentation of high education respondents in survey (cf. Holbrook, Krosnick, & Pfent, 2008; Mulry-Liggan, 1983). Overall, 2,865 member questionnaires were answered, 1,535 of which could be used for the data analysis. The sample thus exceeds the standard suggested by Nulty (2008). The high proportion of deleted data sets is a result of the online survey tool, which automatically generates a data record even if someone only looks at the questionnaire. Moreover, a split half analysis comparing early and late submitters revealed no remarkable differences.

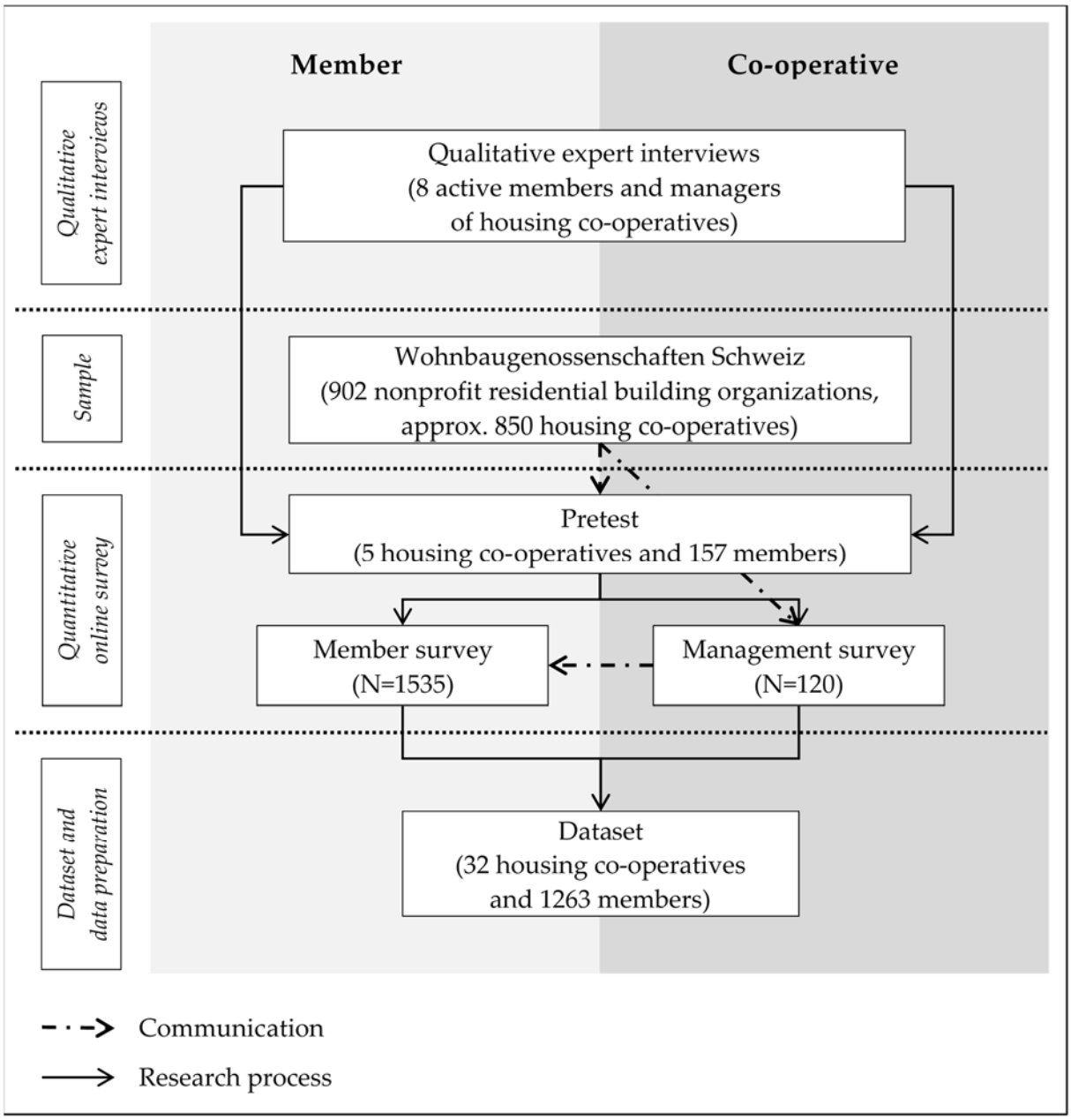

Figure 2 Research design

Data preparation and analysis

In order to achieve reliable results, the study only included housing co-operatives that submitted ten or more member questionnaires in the sample. As a consequence, the vast majority of small and middle size housing co-operatives were eliminated from the dataset that led to a overrepresentation of large (100 apartments and more) and professionalized co-ops. Therefore,

32 housing co-operatives with a total of 1,263 members (an average of 39 members per housing co-operative) remained, for whom several multilevel models were calculated using SPSS. Since there were few level 2 cases (housing co-operatives), the analyses were calculated using the restricted maximum likelihood (REML) approach, with fixed effects in a random intercept model.

Measurements and variables

The dependent variable – volunteer engagement within the housing co-operative – was polled on two levels. In the first step, the questionnaire asked if members voluntarily assumed a function in the housing co-operative. Later, they were asked how many hours a month on average they spent carrying out duties for the co-operative. Furthermore, the survey recorded the nature of the volunteer work or honorary offices assumed by the member. On the housing co-operative level, the age of the co-operative was measured based on the year of foundation and the size was measured by the number of apartments. The degree of professionalization was polled on an ordinal scale according to the proportion of management duties carried out by volunteers (self-managed) or salaried staff (professional): from fully self-managed to fully professionally managed. To determine the political orientation, management was asked to gage the general political orientation of the members (Table 1).

On the individual level, the survey asked members directly about their age and how long they have lived in the housing co-operative. The formal educational background was measured dichotomously by differentiating members with a high level of education (higher vocational college, university of applied sciences, or university) and members without higher education. To measure a member's identification with the co-operative, the members were asked to mark

on a scale of 1-10 whether they see themselves more as tenants (low degree of identification) or members (high degree of identification).

Table 1 Variables of the multilevel analysis and its operationalization

Variables	Operationalization
Level-2 Variables	
Age of co-op	Age of the housing co-operative (metric scale, logarithmized)
Size (no. of apartments)	Number of apartments (metric scale, logarithmized)
Professionalization	Ordinal scale: 1=only volunteers 2=mainly volunteers, some professionals 3=mainly professionals, some volunteers 4=only professionals
Political orientation	Dummy variables: Alternative left (1=yes / 0=no) Bourgeois liberal (1=yes / 0=no) No political orientation (1=yes / 0=no)
Level-1 Variables	
Volunteering	Average hours spent volunteering per month (quasi-metric scale): 0=inactive (no function) 1=<1h active 2=1-3h active 3=4-6h active 4=> 6h active
Volunteer of honorary office	Dichotomous (1=yes / 0=no function) Honorary office=board, settlement committee, housing association, expert commission (new construction project jury, finance, etc.) Volunteer=work group (cleaning, gardening etc.), caretaker or the like
Age of member	Age of the member (metric scale, once normal / once squared)
Level of education	At least higher vocational college degree (1=yes / 0=no)
Years in co-op	Numbers of years, the member lives in the housing co-operative (metric scale, logarithmized)
Identification	Consider herself / himself as tenant (=0) or as member (=10) (quasi-metric scale)
Member value achievement	Quasi-metric scale: 1=no member value; 7=high member value
Member value affection	Quasi-metric scale: 1=no member value; 7=high member value

In order to collect data on motivational factors, 12 items were generated that take the factors achievement (Cronbach's alpha .90) and affection (Cronbach's alpha .82) into account using factor and reliability analyses (Appendix 1). According to the member value theory, benefits

– and therefore motivation – exist only when a member's needs are fulfilled by the services offered by the co-operative. Each individual item was therefore evaluated on a 7 point Likert scale according to its importance for the member and how well the housing co-operative is able to fulfil this need. Member value is calculated as a minimum of importance and satisfaction. This calculation is based on the assumption that membership is most valuable when a primary need is fulfilled to a high degree.

All variables were z-standardized and the metric variables (size and age of the housing co-operative and the number of years a member has lived in the co-op) were logarithmized in order to stabilize the analysis.

Results of the Analysis

A descriptive analysis of the data set revealed the following: the average housing co-operative in the data set is 70 years old, has 200 apartments, and is mainly managed by salaried staff. The average housing co-operative inhabitant, on the other hand, is 50 years old, has lived in the co-operative for 10 years, and sees him or herself as both a member and a tenant. A little over a quarter of the inhabitants said that they carry out a function within the housing co-operative, half of whom volunteered for more than an hour a week (Table 2 and Table 3)

Table 2 Co-operative descriptives

Variables	N	%
Level-2 Variables		
Age of co-op		
< 30 years	4	12
30-59 years	10	31
60-90 years	12	38
> 90 years	6	19
Size (no. of apartments)		
30-149 apartments	10	31
150-300 apartments	10	31
> 300 apartments	12	38
Professionalization		
only volunteers	7	23
mainly volunteers, some professionals	6	20
mainly professionals, some volunteers	9	30
only professionals	8	27
Political orientation		
alternative left	8	28
bourgeois liberal	6	21
no political orientation	15	52
Level-1 Variables		
Volunteering		
Inactive	864	74.4
< 1 h active	70	6.0
1-3 h active	86	7.4
4-6 h active	63	5.4
> 6 h active	78	6.7
Volunteer or honorary office (dichotomous)		
honorary office	160	12.7
volunteer	164	13.0
no position within the co-operative	939	74.3

Table 3 Member descriptives

	all members		*active members*	
Variables	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Age of member				
< 35 years	199	16.4	22	7.6
35-44 years	236	19.5	64	22.1
45-54 years	248	20.4	83	28.7
55-64 years	209	17.2	58	20.1
65-75 years	209	17.2	49	17.0
> 75 years	112	9.2	13	4.5
Level of education				
no higher education	621	51.8	115	40.2
higher education	579	48.3	171	59.8
Identification				
rather tenant	273	22.9	20	7.0
tenant and member	668	55.9	153	53.7
rather member	253	21.2	112	39.3
Years in co-op				
< 3 years	174	15.6	38	14.0
3-6.9 years	247	22.2	46	17.0
7-14.9 years	238	21.4	64	23.6
15-30 years	257	23.1	74	27.3
> 30 years	198	17.8	49	18.1

The descriptive analysis of the sample shows a distortion on the level of the organization in favor of larger housing co-operatives. Due to restrictive data cleansing and the elimination of all housing co-operatives who submitted fewer than 10 member surveys, smaller housing co-

operatives (housing co-operatives with less than 30 apartments) were excluded from the sample. The study is therefore representative for mid-sized or larger housing co-operatives, at most, as slightly more than 40 % of all housing co-operatives have less than 30 apartments.

Table 4 Correlation matrix

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Volunteering	1										
2. Age of co-op	-.281**	1									
3. Size (no. of apt.)	-.094**	.476**	1								
4. Professionalization	0.018	.079**	.580**	1							
5. Alternative left	.227**	-.455**	-.187**	0.04	1						
6. Bourgeois liberal	-0.054	0.043	-.369**	-.176**	-.216**	1					
7. Age of member	.061*	0.012	-.091**	-0.033	0.002	.087**	1				
8. Level of education	.108**	-.083**	.115**	.166**	.059*	-.130**	-.228**	1			
9. Years in co-op	.098**	.105**	-0.057	-0.052	-.073*	0.048	.646**	-.254**	1		
10. Identification	.299**	-.145**	0.026	0.004	.063*	-.100**	.233**	0.046	.224**	1	
11. MV Achievement	.353**	-.117**	0.039	0.05	0.028	-.139**	.117**	0.025	.169**	.449**	1
12. MV Affection	.165**	-.106**	-0.035	-0.033	.066*	-.077**	.142**	-0.034	.154**	.323**	.534**

Significant (two-tailed) at * p<0.05; ** p<0.01

The correlation matrix (Table 4) provides initial results for the stated hypotheses. The age and the size of a housing co-operative correlate negatively with volunteer engagement, while individual variables have a consistently positive correlation. A positive correlation could also be found between an alternative left-wing political orientation and a high level of volunteer engagement. For a more detailed analysis of the research question, several multilevel models were calculated (Table 5). The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) of 0.27 calculated from the null model leads to the conclusion that volunteer engagement differs greatly between different housing co-operatives. The necessity for a multilevel analysis was additionally emphasized by a design effect of 11.34 (Peugh, 2010). Based on the null model, the first step was to introduce the organizational variables into the model (M1). It thus emerged that only the age

of the housing co-operative has a significant effect. Interestingly, the effect of an alternative left-wing political orientation was proved to be insignificant. While the correlation matrix indicates a significant positive correlation, the multilevel model shows that both political orientations have no significant effect.

Table 5 Multilevel models for volunteering (in average hours per month)

	Model 0		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Intercept	.83 ***	(0.13)	.74 ***	(0.14)	.63 ***	(0.13)	.59 ***	(0.13)
Organizational Level								
Age of co-op (log)			-.40 ***	(0.11)	-.35 ***	(0.10)	-.26 **	(0.10)
Size (no. of apt. log)			.15	(0.16)	.13	(0.15)	.12	(0.14)
Professionalization			-.05	(0.12)	-.07	(0.11)	-.11	(0.11)
Alternative left			.18	(0.28)	.26	(0.25)	.27	(0.24)
Bourgeois liberal			-.18	(0.27)	.02	(0.25)	.09	(0.24)
Individual level								
Age					1.02 ***	(0.26)	.90 ***	(0.25)
Age^2					-1.07 ***	(0.26)	-.95 ***	(0.25)
Education					.17 **	(0.08)	.17 **	(0.08)
Years in co-op (log)					.27 ***	(0.04)	.15 ***	(0.05)
Identification					.18 ***	(0.05)	.14 ***	(0.04)
Member Value								
Achievement							.40 ***	(0.05)
Affection							-.07	(0.05)
Random effects								
Residual (σ^2)	1.22 *	(0.00)	1.23 ***	(0.05)	1.18 ***	(0.06)	1.08 ***	(0.05)
Intercept (τ_{00})	0.45	(0.00)	0.24 ***	(0.09)	0.17 **	(0.07)	0.16 **	(0.06)
Model fit								
R^2	0.22		0.22		0.30		0.34	
Intraclass correlation (ICC)	0.27		0.16		0.13		0.13	
Deviance (-2LL)	3600.91		3477.83		2708.44		2614.50	

Notes: Education (no higher education=0; higher education=1). Predictor variables are Z-standardized. Standard errors are in parentheses. Significant (two-tailed) at * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

For model 2 (M2), the individual variables were integrated into the model. The variable age was entered once unaltered and once squared. Entering the age twice was justified by the curvilinear relationship with volunteer engagement. A graphical analysis confirmed this correlation, which had already been considered from a theoretical viewpoint. Both age variables exhibit the strongest effects. Other highly significant factors that influence volunteer engagement include a member's personal identification with the co-operative and the number of years he or she has lived in the housing co-op. Formal educational background also has a significant

positive effect on volunteer engagement, but the effect size is relatively small. Another interesting finding is that the effect of a housing co-operative's age remains stable, e.g. it is not influenced by individual variables. Furthermore, the effect of political orientation changes noticeably. Overall, the integration of level 1 variables led to an improvement of the entire model and its explanatory power (ΔR^2=+8%). By extending the model to include the two member value variables, the model (M4) could be improved even further, however the effect sizes of many other variables decreased. Particularly the effect of age decreased. This can be explained by the change in motivational structures due to age, which are reflected in the factors achievement and affection. The same applies to the aspect of personal identification. The slightly significant negative effect of affection is surprising, e.g. the better the relationship to one's neighbor, the less one volunteers. This finding contrasts with the social exchange theory and empirical studies that determined that friendships have a positive effect on volunteer engagement (Degli Antonio, 2009; Horne & Broadbridge, 1994; Leonard, Onyx, & Hayward-Brown, 2004; Martinez & McMullin, 2004). In addition, the correlation analysis showed a significant positive correlation between the variable affection and volunteer engagement. It can therefore be assumed that the negative effect of affection is a result of the model specification. This assumption was confirmed by eliminating achievement, which led to a highly significant coefficient of 0.11 for affection (model not listed in Table 5). Furthermore, it has to be considered that small housing co-operatives were excluded to a great extent. Hence the aspect of social pressure and strong social ties (social capital) maybe less present in the study.

On the organizational level, the effect of the age of the housing co-operative decreased by 0.09, whereas the other organizational variables differed only slightly. This can be explained by the

fact that the services offered by the housing co-operative were included in the member value variables.

In order to analyze volunteer engagement in more detail and to verify the previous multilevel model, a similar multilevel model was calculated for each of the dichotomous variables volunteer functions and honorary offices. Honorary offices are associated with a higher level of obligation and responsibility (elected offices), whereas volunteer functions tend to consist of manual labor, e.g. cleaning or gardening. To a large extent, the two models in Table 6 yielded the same effects as the multilevel models in Table 5. This supports the stability of the models and permits a reliable interpretation of the findings. Furthermore, the two dichotomous multilevel models exhibited two interesting differences. Formal educational background is a significant determining factor for honorary offices but not for volunteering. On the other side, an alternative left-wing political orientation influenced volunteer engagement but had no effect on honorary offices. Overall, the explanatory power (R^2) of the two dichotomous engagement variables is less than those of the chronologically graded multilevel model.

Table 6 Multilevel models for volunteer and honorary office

	volunteer (1=yes / 0=no)				honorary office (1=yes / 0=no)			
	Model 0		Model 1		Model 0		Model 1	
Intercept	0.22 ***	(0.04)	0.14 ***	(0.04)	0.20 ***	(0.03)	0.14 ***	(0.03)
Organizational Level								
Age of co-op (log)			-0.06 **	(0.03)			-0.06 **	(0.03)
Size (no. of apt log)			0.06	(0.04)			-0.03	(0.04)
Professionalization			-0.02	(0.03)			0.02	(0.03)
Alternative left			0.15 **	(0.07)			0.03	(0.06)
Bourgeois liberal			0.08	(0.07)			-0.01	(0.06)
Individual level								
Age			0.19 **	(0.08)			0.26 ***	(0.07)
Age2			-0.20 **	(0.08)			-0.29 ***	(0.08)
Education			0.04	(0.03)			0.05 **	(0.02)
Years in co-op (log)			0.03 *	(0.02)			0.05 ***	(0.02)
Identification			0.04 **	(0.01)			0.04 ***	(0.01)
Member Value								
Achievement			0.08 ***	(0.02)			0.09 ***	(0.01)
Affection			0.01	(0.01)			-0.02	(0.01)
Random effects								
Residual (σ2)	0.12 ***	(0.01)	0.12 ***	(0.01)	0.11 ***	(0.00)	0.10 ***	(0.01)
Intercept (τ00)	0.04 ***	(0.01)	0.01 **	(0.01)	0.02 ***	(0.01)	0.01 **	(0.00)
Model fit								
R^2		0.21		0.26		0.15		0.24
Intraclass correlation (ICC)		0.23		0.09		0.17		0.08
Deviance (-2LL)		940.15		681.73		761.94		521.07

Notes: Education (no higher education=0; higher education=1). Predictor variables are Z-standardized. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Significant (two-tailed) at * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Discussion

The high ICC of the multilevel analysis clearly demonstrated that volunteer engagement differs substantially between individual housing co-operatives. Depending on the housing co-operative, management places more or less value on the active participation of the members. However, the size and degree of professionalization showed no effect on volunteer engagement, thus refuting hypotheses 1b and 1c. One explanation for this non-existent correlation could be the method used to create the sample, as the restrictive database preparation and the requirements for multilevel analyses led to an underrepresentation of small, self-managed co-operatives that would likely have drawn a different picture. On the other hand, hypothesis 1a was confirmed in all of the multilevel models. The age of the housing co-operative therefore has a decisive effect on volunteer engagement. There are numerous possible reasons for this

negative effect. For one, the bureaucratization theory according to Weber (1978) stipulates that the number of rules increases over time and the freedom for individual engagement thus diminishes within the co-operative. This argument can be linked to the co-operative structures and routines developed by the founding generation. According to the interviews in the first stage of the sturdy, it is much easier to maintain participations platforms and events that were planned as an inherent part of the co-operative from the beginning, e.g. a weekly supper in the co-op, than to introduce them at a later time. Passive members are getting used not to be involved with their co-op, so even the maintenance of the activity level for existing co-operative events can be demanding. Breaking with existing patterns and changing old habits by activating the members seems to be a difficult task (cf. Sydow, Schreyögg, & Koch, 2009). The matter was altogether different with regards to political orientation. Co-operatives with an alternative left-wing political orientation were proven to be better able to motivate their members to volunteer for the co-op. On the other hand, political orientation appeared to have no significant effect on the intensity of volunteer engagement. Hypothesis 1d could thus be partially confirmed.

With regards to the individual factors, a member's age, in particular, is decisive. However, this correlation is curvilinear. This confirmed hypothesis 2a. The importance of age was also reflected in the comments, which members could add to the questionnaire. Many of the older participants (aged 70 and older) stated that they no longer volunteer in the housing co-operative because they are too old and frail, but they had assumed a variety of duties for many years when they were younger. The positive effect of age on volunteering can be linked to a cohort effect as well as a life cycle effect. On the one hand, older members were socialized with a stronger sense of duty toward the community (less individualistic) and on the other hand, the

motivation and the available (free) time for volunteering change over time, in particular after retirement (Ojha & Pramanick, 2009; Okun & Schultz, 2003). Hypothesis 2b, which assumed that a higher level of formal education would correlate with a higher level of volunteer engagement, was also confirmed. However, this effect is not as significant as other variables. An examination of the educational background of very engaged members (who volunteer for more than an hour a week) revealed that a large proportion of these members do not have a high level of education. This is connected with the different tasks that can be assumed in the housing co-operative. For example, a tradesman who takes care of maintenance jobs in the co-operative quickly spends more time for these duties than a highly-educated member on a committee. This interpretation was supported by the multilevel model in Table 6. For honorary offices, formal educational background has a significant effect, but this is not the case for volunteering. The influence of education on general volunteer engagement therefore proved to be dependent on the types of duties or functions and each case must therefore be analyzed individually. The length of time a member has lived in a co-operative yields similar results. Evidently, members are quick to accept volunteering tasks shortly after moving into a housing co-operative, but it takes longer for a member to assume an honorary office. Conversely, a new member is quickly asked to volunteer in the co-operative, but it takes years for him or her to be elected to a board, a committee etc. Both perspectives must be kept in mind, although here, like for member values, there is an interdependency between the desire to volunteer and being permitted to do so. The effect of personal identification is equally positive for volunteering and honorary offices. This confirmed hypotheses 2c and 2d in accordance with the multilevel model from Table 5.

Besides age, the member value achievement was proved to be the most important explanatory factor for volunteer engagement, whereas the aspect of affection was inconclusive. Hypothesis 3 was thus partially confirmed. In order for volunteer engagement to take place, it is important to have the appropriate platforms for participation and to give members the impression that their opinion matters and that they can make a difference.

Regarding theory development, the member value approach was proved to be helpful for the conceptualization and operationalization of benefits as defined by the social exchange theory enriched with a social capital perspective, thereby enabling an empirical analysis. Furthermore, extending the social exchange theory to include the member value approach made it possible to assess benefits, which was helpful for determining the practical implications for management. On the other side, the study showed that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between costs and benefits, in particular for achievement. Volunteer engagement gives members the satisfaction of contributing to the co-operative and strengthens the bonds between members, but at the same time engagement, i.e. the actual cost, is also a benefit in itself. In this regard, the social exchange theory can only explain intrinsically motivated duties carried out for the co-operative under certain conditions. In addition, the importance of the organizational and individual control variables implies that volunteer engagement cannot be solely explained by a rational exchange theory. However, one can assume that the perceived cost-benefit relationship of an exchange – volunteer engagement – can vary depending on the formal educational background and the age of a member, as well as the co-operative culture and prior experiences in the housing co-operative. Homans' (1958, 1974) propositions examined these variations in the perception of cost-benefit relationships. Together, the success,

stimulus, and value propositions stipulate that a behavior will likely be repeated if it is rewarded, e.g. if positive experiences are made with active engagement for the housing co-operative. The deprivation-satiation proposition, on the other hand, stipulates that the more often a reward is received, the less valuable it becomes: people who volunteer for many years will reduce the scope of this activity in old age.

Summary

In large parts of civil society, complaints can be heard that people are increasingly unwilling to be actively engaged. It is therefore important to determine factors that counteract the current trend and which can lead to more civil engagement. This study examined variables that influence volunteer engagement with regards to both organizational and individual aspects. A central factor proved to be the possibility for members to contribute effectively. If members believe there is little chance that their actions will make a difference, they will hardly be willing to actively contribute. The same circumstances explain the negative effect of the age of a housing co-operative. A certain enthusiasm is often present in the first years after a new housing co-operative is founded, and new ideas are continuously being born. By contrast, older housing co-operatives generally grow in size, develop professional management and establish structures that restrict the active involvement of the members. The same phenomenon was detected on the civil society level with regard to political disillusionment. Many citizens believe they have little to no say, a fact that caused Stoker (2006, p. 149) to conclude that there is a "need to construct a politics for amateurs". Other political scientists believe that the reason for the decline in the willingness to actively contribute to society is the feeling of not being able to influence a deadlocked political system (Almond & Verba, 1965; Campbell, Gurin, & Miller,

1971; Hay, 2008). There also appears to be little freedom to show personal initiative and present new ideas.

The present study also demonstrates that the political orientation of a housing co-operative has an effect on volunteer engagement, but not on honorary offices. In the housing co-operative, duties that are carried out as part of honorary offices are largely formalized and legally regulated. By contrast, volunteer engagement demands more personal initiative from members, which has more of an effect in alternative left-wing oriented housing co-operatives. The negative influence of the age of the co-operative and the positive effect of a left-wing political orientation on volunteer engagement lead to the conclusion that a member's willingness to actively contribute to his or her co-operative is related to the culture of the organization (cf. Suter & Gmür, 2016). In addition to the resource-oriented approach, which explains why older people volunteer more often, it is also significant that older members are more familiar with the structures of an organization and more often believe they are able to make a difference. This finding is supported by the positive effect of the duration of membership. In order to encourage younger members to volunteer, it is essential to create awareness for the value of each person's opinion and to show that management is also willing to accept new ideas.

The findings regarding the individual characteristics of volunteers largely corroborate with general research. This study goes into more detail by differentiating between volunteering and honorary offices. However, the example of housing co-operatives reflects that the determinants for engagement can be very different depending on the type of duties and works a member assumes. Correspondingly, this aspect should be given more weight in future research on volunteering. Similarly, the findings on individual factors can be applied to society as a whole. The factor age follows a trend parallel to that of electoral behavior: while a larger proportion

of older people participate in elections, many younger people do not vote (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Dermody, Stuart, & Scullion, 2010; Goerres, 2007). The effects of formal educational background proved to be similar within this context. How long a person has been a member of a co-operative and his or her personal identification are closely related to socialization. One can therefore conclude that a longer period of socialization within the co-operative is required before members assume formal and long-term offices.

It is important to take into consideration that small housing co-operatives were not included in the sample. This could explain why the organizational variables size and degree of professionalization did not appear to have a significant influence on volunteer engagement.

The study demonstrates that volunteer engagement cannot be explained by individual factors alone. Nevertheless, research on volunteering has rarely included a multilevel analysis of a combination of individual and organizational factors. This shortfall in research should be given more weight in future studies. How well individual and organizational levels harmonize and collaborate with one another should be considered a central factor for volunteer engagement as well as for other aspects of research on civil society organizations. Although the study included individual and organizational factors, the total variance accounted for in the models is still relatively small, indication much wider influences at play.

Outlook

In summary, three factors are always required for active volunteer engagement in housing co-operatives and in civil society in general: capacity, willingness, and opportunity (cf. Blumberg & Pringle, 1982). These three aspects of volunteer engagement can also be applied to other civil

society organizations and at the same time promote a multi-perspective approach to the reciprocal influence of individual members and society.

On the one hand, a certain degree of capacity must be present. With regard to volunteer engagement, this can mean having the appropriate professional skills (education) or, more generally, the free time needed for volunteering. In this study, this is evident from increased volunteering activity among older members of housing co-operatives who are no longer in employment. Willingness refers to the member's motivational structure and was measured primarily with the member value, which demonstrates the importance of a person's desire to make an active contribution to society. Within this context, long-term membership and a strong degree of identification with the housing co-operative are beneficial both for capacity – due to more extensive experience within the housing co-operative and are more familiar with its procedures – and for willingness – due to a greater sense of solidarity and involvement. Organizational factors, on the other hand, must be considered in terms of opportunity. In order for members to volunteer their time, they need the necessary freedom to actively contribute. If platforms for interaction and participation are lacking and if the co-operative management has a highly ingrained routine, a culture will develop that leaves members little room for active contributions. The fundamental right of members to participate in decision-making may be regulated by law and volunteer engagement may not be formally forbidden in any housing co-operative, yet a culture that discourages volunteer engagement can still develop. A culture such as this naturally influences the willingness of the members. It may not necessarily be the organization's intention to exclude the members, but rather the result of an ongoing development that takes place as organizational structures and traditions become more

rigid and the co-operative works toward more professionalization and efficiency in its management, which in turn hinders the members from being more involved.

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Appendix 1: Items of the member value dimensions achievement and affection

Achievement (Cronbachs Alpha .898)
Others perceive me as important as a result of my position in the housing co-operative.
I have a lot of opportunities to discuss with others, actively contribute and voice my opinions.
I have the opportunity to participate in work groups, committees etc.
I can make an active personal contribution, e.g. organize social events or recreational activities for others.
Co-ops are an interesting place to live and I constantly learn and experience new things.
The things I experience here help my personal development and are of use to me in other areas.
My opinion is valued and I can make a difference.
I can make an active contribution and experience self-affirmation.
Affection (Cronbachs Alpha .818)
I know where I stand with my neighbors, I can rely on them and their help.
Nice people live here who become friends.
My neighbors understand my problems and listen when I have an issue to discuss.
Here in our house or building, we stick together and I feel like I'm part of a community.